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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MOSCOW 10728

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OREP

SUBJECT: CODEL PELL MEETS WITH SUPREME SOVIET DEPUTIES

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: CODEL PELL MET WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SUPREME SOVIET IN TWO-HOUR SESSIONS AUGUST 18 AND 19. DISCUSSIONS RANGED OVER U.S.-SOVIET BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH SPECIFIC FOCUS ON SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE AND THE SOVIET INVASION/OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN. THE SOVIET ATTACKED U.S. ARMS POLICIES CLAIMING THAT U.S. DEPLOYMENT OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO EUROPE WOULD UPSET THE STRATEGIC BALLANCE. CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET, V.P. RUBEN, WHO HEADED THE SOVIET DELEGATION, DESCRIBED OVERALL U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AS "TENSE" AND WORSENING. THE U.S. SIDE SOUGHT SMALL AREAS OF AGREEMENT ON WHICH TO BASE EFFORTS TO GRADUALLY IMPROVE RELATIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE VOICED DOUBT ABOUT THE UTILITY OF SUCH AN EFFORT GIVEN WHAT IT DESCRIBED AS THE "HARSH RHETORIC" USED BY THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION. SEVERAL SENATORS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT POOR SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE AND AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA CREATED A CLIMATE OF MISTRUST IN THE U.S. WHICH IMPEDED EFFORTS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON SUCH IMPORTANT U.S.-SOVIET CONCERNS AS ARMS CONTROL. SEVERAL SENATORS URGED AN INCREASED VOLUME OF BILATERAL EXCHANGES IN VARIOUS FIELDS. SENATORS ALSO EXTENDED PERSONAL INVITATIONS TO SEVERAL OF THEIR COUNTERPARTS TO VISIT THEIR HOME STATES. THE TWO SIDES CONCLUDED THAT THE MEETINGS HAD BEEN USEFUL AND MUTUALLY EXPRESSED A DESIRE FOR ADDITIONAL MEETINGS. END SUMMARY.

3. CODEL PELL MET WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET IN TWO TWO-HOUR SESSIONS AUGUST 18 AND 19. (SEE PARA 17 FOR LIST OF SOVIET PARTICIPANTS.) THE CODEL HOSTED THE SOVIET PARLIAMENTARIANS AT A RECEPTION AUGUST 18 AND WERE IN TURN HOSTED BY THE SOVIET SIDE

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AT A LUNCHEON AUGUST 19. DURING SOMETIMES POINTED EXCHANGES, THE SOVIET PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE AMERICAN SENATORS RANGED OVER BILATERAL ISSUES FOCUSING ON ARMS CONTROL, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

4. IN THE OPENING SESSION, THE SOVIET PARLIAMENTARIANS, CHAIRED BY V.P. RUBEN, CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET, ATTACKED U.S. ARMS CONTROL POLICIES AND QUESTIONED U.S. INTENTIONS. RUBEN DESCRIBED U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AS "TENSE" AND "CHANGING FOR THE WORSE." THE SOVIET SIDE, HE ALLEGED, SOUGHT "NORMALCY" IN BILATERAL RELATIONS "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE," BUT SAW NO READINESS ON THE PART OF THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO IMPROVE RELATIONS. CLAIMING THAT U.S. DEPLOYMENT OF INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES IN EUROPE WOULD UPSET THE STRATEGIC BALANCE, HE ECHOED CHAIRMAN ANDROPOV'S EARLIER COMMENTS TO THE GROUP, THAT THE "INTERNATIONAL SITUATION (WOULD) CHANGE FOR THE WORSE AND THERE (WOULD) BE A NEW TWIST TO THE ARMS RACE." U.S. CONDITIONS FOR NON-DEPLOYMENT AMOUNT TO A "RESTRUCTURING OF SOVIET FORCES TO SUIT U.S. OBJECTIVES" AND "DO NOT REPRESENT A SERIOUS APPROACH." RUBEN CONTRASTED THIS WITH WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE "BUSINESS-LIKE APPROACH" OF THE SOVIET UNION.

5. RUBEN CLAIMED SOVIET READINESS TO FREEZE ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS "INCLUDING A CESSATION OF QUANTITATIVE GROWTH OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND A CESSATION OF NEW NUCLEAR DEPLOYMENTS; A MORATORIUM ON TESTING OF NEW DELIVERY VEHICLES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING." SUCH A FREEZE, HE MAINTAINED, WOULD BE SUBJECT TO "APPROPRIATE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL AND OTHER MEANS."

6. WITHOUT ELABORATION, RUBEN REPEATED ANDROPOV'S EARLIER ASAT PROPOSAL, CALLING ON THE SENATORS TO TAKE ACTION TO "MAKE IT INCUMBENT ON ALL GOVERNMENTS TO KEEP THE ARMS RACE OUT OF SPACE."

7. SENATOR PELL, LEADING OFF FOR THE U.S. DELEGATION, COUNTERED WITH A PRACTICAL PROPOSAL THAT THE TWO PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS SET ASIDE RHETORIC AND WORK TOWARD RELAXING TENSIONS BY ESTABLISHING AREAS OF AGREEMENT PARTICULARLY BY FOSTERING OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL SOVIET-AMERICAN CONTACTS.

8. GEORGI ARBATOV, DIRECTOR OF THE USA AND CANADA INSTITUTE, SOUGHT TO DISMISS PROSPECTS FOR SUCH AN EXPANSION OF CONTACTS IN THE CURRENT CLIMATE OF RELATIONS, ARGUING THAT THE US ADMINISTRATION PERCEIVED THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AS "THE EPITOME OF EVIL" AND HAD REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE."

9. WHILE SENATOR PELL AND OTHER SENATORS SOUGHT TO RETURN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 04 MOSCOW 10728

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TO THE THEME OF COMMON EFFORTS TO FIND AREAS OF AGREEMENT, MUCH OF THE SOVIET PRESENTATION IN BOTH SESSIONS CONTINUED TO FOCUS ON ATTACKS ON US POLICIES.

10. SENATORS SARBANES AND BUMPERS STRESSED THAT WHILE THEY AND MANY OF THEIR COLLEAGUES WERE ANXIOUS TO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR AN IMPROVED BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, SUCH EFFORTS WERE MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY SOVIET BEHAVIOR, PARTICULARLY IN AFGHANISTAN AND IN THE AREA OF HUMAN

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RIGHTS. SENATOR SARBANES REMINDED THE SOVIET SIDE THAT IN 1979, THE SALT II TREATY WAS NOT BROUGHT TO THE FLOOR FOR A VOTE, DESPITE HAVING BEEN PASSED BY THE SFRC "SUBSEQUENT TO THE SOVIET MOVE INTO AFGHANISTAN." HE URGED THE SOVIETS TO JOIN IN A REVIEW OF REGIONAL PROBLEMS WITH A VIEW TOWARD CREATING A BETTER CLIMATE IN WHICH TO ADDRESS ISSUES SUCH AS ARMS CONTROL. HE NOTED ALSO THE DEEP CONCERN OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

11. SENATOR METZENBAUM, DURING THE SECOND SESSION, COUNTERED RUBEN'S EFFORTS TO MOVE THE DISCUSSION AWAY FROM "DWELLING ON INTERNAL PROBLEMS" BY NOTING THAT THE SOVIETS HAD UNDERTAKEN INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS IN BOTH THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS AND THE U.N. CHARTER AND DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS WITHIN THEIR BORDERS, NOTING IN PARTICULAR THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND EMIGRATION. STRESSING THAT HE SINCERELY WANTED TO SEE THE "PEACE PROCESS MOVE FORWARD," THE SENATOR DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS NEVERTHELESS "CONCERNED AND DEPRESSED" ABOUT HAVING TO "RETURN HOME EMPTY-HANDED" WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF EMIGRATION AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS. RESPONDING TO AN INTERJECTION BY ARBATOV THAT THE US HAD NUMEROUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE FORM OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BLACKS AND INDIANS, METZENBAUM NOTED THAT WHEREAS THE US GOVERNMENT SOUGHT TO SOLVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS OFTEN THE CAUSE OF PROBLEMS FACING ITS PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SENATOR LONG NOTED THAT IN THE US ROUGHLY HALF OF THOSE UNEMPLOYED WERE MEMBERS OF FAMILIES IN WHICH THERE WAS AT LEAST ONE WORKING MEMBER. MOREOVER, HE EXPLAINED, US UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION ASSURED THAT EVEN THE UNEMPLOYED IN THE US LIVED FAR BETTER THAN DID EMPLOYED PERSONS IN MANY COUNTRIES. HE CONTRASTED US UNEMPLOYMENT PAYMENTS WITH THE SOVIET APPROACH WHERE MENIAL JOBS WERE CREATED TO ABSORB UNEMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYABLE CITIZENS. IN AMERICA, HE ADDED, SUCH JOBS AS STREET SWEEPERS DID NOT EXIST TO ABSORB THE UNEMPLOYED.

12. IN THE SECOND SESSION, SOVIET GENERAL VICTOR PAVLOVICH STARODUBOV RECOUNTED AT LENGTH THE STANDARD SOVIET ATTACK ON US ARMS POLICY AND GAVE EQUALLY PREDICTABLE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET POSITION. HE REITERATED RUBEN'S EARLIER CHARGES THAT DEPLOYMENT OF US MISSILES IN EUROPE WOULD REDUCE TIME REQUIRED FOR US WARHEADS TO REACH SOVIET TARGETS TO 7 TO 12 MINUTES. IN A FACT-STUDDED RESPONSE, SENATOR BUMPERS NOTED THAT SOVIET SUBMARINES, WHICH REGULARLY STATION OFF THE US EAST AND WEST COASTS, CARRY NUCLEAR MISSILES WHICH COULD REACH US TARGETS IN FIVE MINUTES. SENATOR LONG ARGUED FOR JOINT US-SOVIET EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF SURPRISE ATTACK. HE STATED THAT BY ELIMINATING THE ELEMENT OF SURPRISE ATTACK, BOTH SIDES COULD BEGIN TO REDUCE THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENAL SURPLUSES, POSSIBLY ON A BUILD-DOWN PRINCIPLE.

13. SENATORS LONG AND RIEGLE BOTH EXPRESSED A HOPE THAT THEIR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS COULD VISIT THEIR STATES AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE CONTACTS THAT WOULD LEAD TO GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE CLIMATE OF RELATIONS. SENATOR LONG EXPRESSED IN GENERAL TERMS HIS HOPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD PARTICIPATE IN A WORLD FAIR PLANNED FOR NEW ORLEANS. THE SOVIETS COUNTERED BY COMPLAINING OF TRAVEL DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY VARIOUS SOVIET OFFICIALS WHO HAVE RECENTLY TRAVELLED IN THE US, AND BY NOTING THAT IT WOULD BE MORE HELPFUL TO REINVIGORATE PARLIAMENTARY EXCHANGES BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW AS HAD BEEN MORE COMMON DURING THE 1970'S.

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14. PRESSED BY SENATOR PELL TO DEFINE AREAS WHERE THERE MIGHT BE JOINT EFFORTS FOR IMPROVED CONTACTS AND COOPERATION, RUBEN AGREED WITH THE SENATOR'S ONE SUGGESTION REGARDING IMPROVED ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGES. THE SOVIETS PROPOSED INCREASED US-SOVIET MEDICAL COOPERATION AS AN EXAMPLE. ZHUKOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE MENTIONED PEOPLE TO PEOPLE CONTACTS BASED ON COMMON CONCERN OVER NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

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AND PRO-FREEZE SENTIMENT AS AN EXAMPLE OF HELPFUL NON-OFFICIAL CONTACTS. SENATOR PELL EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO SEE INVOLVEMENT OF NON-OFFICIAL SOVIET PEACE ACTIVISTS IN SUCH EFFORTS. RUBEN URGED THAT THE US RESUME ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL FORA WHICH ARE AIMED AT LIMITING THE ARMS RACE, NOTING IN PARTICULAR, TALKS ON THE INDIAN OCEAN. SENATOR BUMPERS EXPRESSED HIS OWN HOPE THAT THE US AND SOVIET SIDES WOULD ACTIVELY PURSUE AN AGREEMENT REGARDING CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS IN ORDER TO AVOID THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ESCALATING ARMS RACE IN THIS FIELD. SENATOR RIEGLE NOTED RECENT AGREEMENTS IN THE AREA OF GRAIN SALES AND EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT AGREEMENTS IN THIS AREA SYMBOLIZED MORE THAN SIMPLY A DESIRE FOR PROFIT TO AMERICAN FARMERS.

15. ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF TONE OF RELATIONS, SENATOR RIEGLE TOOK NOTE OF THE STRONG CRITICISM OF US POLICIES AND MISREPRESENTATION OF US SOCIETY CARRIED IN THE SOVIET PRESS. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SUCH PROPAGANDA COULD BE REDUCED SO AS TO IMPROVE THE CLIMATE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS.

16. IN CONCLUDING REMARKS, PELL THANKED THE SOVIET SIDE ON BEHALF OF HIS COLLEAGUES FOR THE SCHEDULING AND OTHER PLANNING FOR THE VISIT AND DESCRIBED THE TWO SESSIONS AS HELPFUL AND EDUCATIONAL. RUBEN DESCRIBED THE TALKS AS A "FRANK EXCHANGE OF OPINION" AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT ADDITIONAL SUCH EXCHANGES COULD BE ARRANGED.

17. THE FOLLOWING SUPREME SOVIET DEPUTIES PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETINGS:

RUBEN, VITALI PETROVITCH	CHAIRMAN, SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES, USSR SUPREME SOVIET
ARBATOV, GEORGI ARKADIEVITCH	MEMBER, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION; DIRECTOR, USA AND CANADA STUDIES INSTITUTE, USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
BLOKHIN, NIKOLAI NIKOLAEVITCH	MEMBER, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION; PRESIDENT, USSR ACADEMY OF MEDICAL SCIENCES
ZHUKOV, GEORGI ALEXANDROVITCH	MEMBER, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION; CHAIRMAN, SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE
ZAMYATIN, LEONID MITROFANOVITCH	MEMBER, FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION; CHIEF, INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION

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- DEPARTMENT, CENTRAL COM-  
 - MITTEE OF THE CPSU  
 -  
 STUKALIN, BORIS IVANOVITCH CHIEF, PROPAGANDA DEPART-  
 - MENT, CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
 - OF THE CPSU  
 -  
 SURBOTIN, ALEXANDR MEMBER, COMMISSION ON  
 MIKHAILOVITCH ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION  
 - AND RATIONAL USE OF NATURAL  
 - RESOURCES; SECRETARY,  
 - USSR CENTRAL COUNCIL OF  
 - TRADE UNIONS  
 -  
 CHAKOVSKY, ALEXANDR BORISOVICH MEMBER, FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
 - COMMISSION; WRITER, EDITOR-  
 - IN-CHIEF OF THE LITERATUR-  
 - NAYA GAZETA (LITERARY PAPER)  
 -  
 ELISOV, BORIS KUZMICH DEPUTY MINISTER OF THE  
 - INTERIOR OF THE USSR  
 -  
 STARODUBOV, VICTOR PAVLOVICH REPRESENTATIVE, GENERAL  
 - STAFF OF THE USSR ARMED  
 - FORCES; MEMBER, USSR  
 - DELEGATION AT THE SOVIET-  
 - AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS ON  
 - LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF  
 - STRATEGIC WEAPONS (OSSV).  
 -  
 STRUCHKOV, NIKOLAI ALEKSEEVICH DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE  
 - SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH INSTI-

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SUSHKOV, V.N. DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN  
 - TRADE  
 -

ZIMMERMANN  
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